

## THE BLACK AND BROWN DIVIDE:

### What Is It, What's Causing It and What Can Philanthropy Do about It?

*Perspectives* is an occasional GCIR publication that highlights viewpoints, analyses, and reflections on a range of immigration- and immigrant-related issues. Through *Perspectives*, GCIR seeks to share ideas, promote deeper understanding, and generate dialogue among our members and other grantmakers.

This issue is the first in a series of *Perspectives* essays on race and immigration. As a starting point for exploring these complex issues, Emmett D. Carson, president and CEO of The Minneapolis Foundation, examines the relationship between Mexican and African Americans, intentionally focusing on these two communities. Dr. Carson's essay was prepared to inform the *Building Black-Brown Alliances* session organized by GCIR for the 2006 Council on Foundations annual conference. But we hope it will inspire further discussions on race and immigration within the philanthropic sector.

As a social construct and from an equity perspective, race is an important issue for GCIR and the broader immigrant rights field, given its inextricable link to contemporary immigration and its historical role in shaping U.S. laws, policies, and worldview that have had—and continue to have—profound effects on newcomers and other marginalized groups. Throughout U.S. history, divisive issues like competition for jobs have long pitted groups at the low end of the socio-economic ladder against one another. This happened with Italian and Irish immigrants in the 1800s and new arrivals from southern and eastern Europe in the early 1900s.

In the past decade, the increased number of immigrants from Latin America has fueled growing tensions between Latino immigrants and African Americans in the competition for jobs and finite resources. As immigration and the geographic dispersal of newcomers increase the diversity of U.S. society, many communities across the country are grappling with heightened racial and ethnic tensions that involve not only Latinos and African Americans but also immigrants from Asia and Africa. These tensions are driven by a zero-sum analysis that one group's success is dependent on another group's failure. Put more bluntly, this viewpoint posits that one group can only succeed on the back of another.

In his essay, Dr. Carson offers insightful analysis on the barriers to finding common ground, as well as concrete recommendations for foundation action. We invite you to read his essay and share with us your thoughts on how we might continue the discussion about race, immigration, and what funders can do to improve intergroup relations and racial equity as part of their efforts to build stronger, more cohesive communities.



*Emmett D. Carson, Ph.D.,  
president and CEO of The  
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#### Introduction

In recent years, there has been increasing tension between African and some Latino American groups. These tensions reached new lows last year as both a foreign leader and a local mayor made public disparaging comments about African and Mexican Americans, respectively. Speaking to a group of Texas businessmen, Vicente Fox, President of Mexico, created a firestorm when he stated: "There is no doubt that Mexicans, filled with dignity, willingness and the ability to work, are doing jobs that not even blacks want to do there in the United States." In an unrelated incident, New Orleans' Mayor Ray Nagin, addressing a local group of business leaders about economic development and job opportunities in the wake of Hurricane Katrina, asked how the city could "make sure that New Orleans is not overrun by Mexican workers." Both comments were greeted with dismay and widespread condemnation.

If such comments can be made in public by otherwise respected leaders, we can only wonder and worry about the level of animosity that others may be voicing in private. Such tensions, if left unchecked, can lead to violent conflict that hurts not only the cultural/ethnic groups involved but also undermines the society as a whole. Foundations and nonprofit organizations have a special obligation to do what they can to establish mutual collaboration that benefits all groups within our society.



Grantmakers Concerned with  
Immigrants and Refugees

This essay offers some thoughts on what may underlie the apparent animosity between the Latino and African American communities and what philanthropy and the nonprofit sector might do about it.<sup>1</sup> Without doubt, there are many reasons why my suitability for writing this essay might be legitimately questioned. While my life experience as an African American may give me useful insights into the African American culture, it also undoubtedly has given me many biases. Moreover, the African American experience is multi-faceted and no single person can reflect its heterogeneity.

With regard to the Latino community, I have the opposite problem. I have neither the life experiences nor years of study to inform me. This lack of knowledge of the Latino community only increases the likelihood that I may have omitted or misinterpreted salient information. With this said, I have written this essay hoping that it might serve as a starting point for further conversations by those who share my desire that African and Latino Americans find common ground and mutual respect based on shared self-interests.

It must be acknowledged that whenever there are discussions of race, ethnicity and culture, it is by definition, a sensitive topic. This sensitivity is only magnified when discussing these issues in the context of a short essay where broad generalizations must be used that cannot fully convey the complexity of the issues involved. In short, this essay will be troubling to some; however, we must learn to have uncomfortable discussions, rather than avoid them, if we are to have any hope of making things better. And, after all, isn't making things better the role of philanthropy and the nonprofit sector?

### What Is Race?

Western society has expended enormous time and energy in constructing social mores and legislation based on the false idea that human beings can be categorized into different races. Often, these notions of race have included suggestions that some racial groups have genetically pre-determined capacities and abilities. Only recently have the fields of medical science and anthropology stated clearly that racial categories — Caucasoid, Mongoloid and Negroid — are cultural inventions rather than a biological reality.<sup>2</sup> The biological reality is that there is only one race, the human race, and it began on the

continent of Africa. The only purpose that racial designations have served is to allow one cultural/ethnic group to maintain social and economic advantage over others through the social conventions and laws that are established.

Unfortunately, the concept of race has been misused so thoroughly and extensively that it is difficult to discuss the subject without becoming hopelessly confused. Let's explore some of this confusion. The U.S. Census Bureau collects data on both racial categories and ethnic/cultural categories and has routinely compared data from so-called racial groups with cultural/ethnic groups. Contrary to both the Census' view and popular thinking, the African American population is not a "race." To qualify as a race, even under the old, incorrect, paradigm, all people of African descent should be included in the African race category, not just African Americans. Comparing whites of all ethnicities and origins (the "white" race) to African Americans (a subgroup of the African race) is a significant methodological mistake.

The term Latino or Hispanic is used to describe a culture and not a race. Using the flawed concept of race, Latino Americans can designate whether they are part of the black or white race. If we were to actually use the racial categories as they were intended, white Latinos should be included in the white racial data and black Latinos should be included in the black racial data. However, while such an approach is methodologically sound, it would not provide the information that we are most interested in, namely, the relative socio-economic status of different ethnic/cultural groups.

One of the defining characteristics of Latino culture is the Spanish language. Latino Americans represent individuals from Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Spain, and nearly all the countries of South America. While the idea of a single Latino/Hispanic culture has been a wonderful organizing tool to create unity and a power base for otherwise disparate groups, it masks frictions across and within various Latino groups including whether white and black Latinos have similar or divergent socio-economic profiles. Moreover, to talk about the Latino community as one single community with a common cultural context or identical political interests and to then compare them with another ethnic/cultural group such as African Americans (and remember, African Americans represent only one group of African descent) is like comparing citrus fruits with

red apples — it is extremely misleading. And yet, these are the false comparisons that individuals and institutions use to determine whether and with whom to develop social, economic and political alliances.

When people refer to tensions between Black and Brown, it is a short-hand that confuses rather than clarifies — not all Latino ethnic/cultural groups are in conflict with African Americans. For example, I am unaware of any ongoing state of conflict between African and Spanish Americans. I also am unaware of tensions between African Americans and black Latinos which begs the question of whether the latter group should be considered Black or Brown. Classifications based on skin color become even more problematic and troublesome if Native Americans and Asian Americans are included. As a result, it is necessary to move beyond the generality of phrases like Black and Brown and look at the relationship between specific ethnic/cultural groups. This essay will explore the relationship between Mexican and African Americans as a case study for why such a specific comparative approach is not optional but mandatory.

There are at least two reasons for choosing to focus this essay on Mexican and African Americans. First, Mexican Americans represent 58.5 percent of the Latino population. The next largest identifiable group is Puerto Rican that represents 9.6 percent of the total Latino population. Second, the recent public comments by President Fox of Mexico and Mayor Nagin of New Orleans suggest that the tensions that exist between Mexican and African Americans merit exploration.

Focusing on Mexican and African Americans should not be interpreted as suggesting that tensions do not exist between African Americans and other specific Latino groups. On the contrary, to understand and address the tensions that may exist between Puerto Ricans and African Americans in New York City, one must examine the relationship of those specific groups within their community context. Similarly, tensions between Cuban and African Americans in Miami must be viewed within the context of that community. Without knowing both the specific Latino group and the community context, it is impossible to have a meaningful discussion about tensions that may exist with African Americans and how they might be addressed. In fact, our current approach likely exacerbates tensions because we produce data and information that are not reflective of the reality that people experience.

## Mexican and African Americans: A Shared Past

Mexican and African Americans share a little-known and very complicated history that goes far beyond having the same ancestral African mother as all members of the human race. The history of African Americans is fairly well-known and relatively straightforward. The first African slaves arrived in the U.S. in 1619. Slavery continued until the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution that abolished slavery which occurred in 1865 following the end of the Civil War. For the next 89 years, African Americans were subjected to legalized segregation and second-class citizenship through Jim Crow laws that existed until the historic 1954 Supreme Court Case of *Brown v. Board of Education*, which ruled that separate was inherently unequal. The last 52 years have seen the painstakingly slow but steady dismantling of overt institutionalized racism toward African Americans and others.

The history of Mexicans and Mexican Americans is more complicated. Spain began its conquest of Mexico in 1519 and by 1527 was actively importing West African slaves. Mexicans draw their heritage from three sources: indigenous Indians, Spaniards (who are considered white) and West African slaves. What is seldom acknowledged is that the slave influence on Mexico's culture and bloodline was just as profound as the Spanish influence.<sup>3</sup> Evidence of this can be found by looking at the Mexican census of 1646 that recorded 130,000 people of African descent, 125,000 people of Spanish descent and 1.2 million people of Indian descent. By 1742, the census showed a free Mexican population of African descent numbering 266,196 people.<sup>4</sup> Inter-marriage and miscegenation among the three groups was at times, and for varying reasons, encouraged by both the Spanish government and the Catholic Church and, at other times, prohibited. The result was a significant blending of the three groups.

Under Spanish rule, white Mexicans, those with Spanish ancestry, enjoyed more rights and freedoms than those who had predominantly Indian ancestry. Mexicans of African ancestry enjoyed the fewest rights. In 1537, Pope Paul III declared that Indians were human beings, unlike Africans, thereby making it illegal for them to be enslaved.<sup>5</sup> A somewhat unique feature of Mexican slavery was that African male

slaves were free to marry whom they wished without interference from the slave master and the child of such unions had the legal status of the mother.<sup>6</sup> In other words, if an African male slave married anyone other than an African female slave the child would be born free. These two influences provided powerful incentives for Mexicans to either hide or deny their African heritage for fear of severe social and legal repercussions, a trend that continues in Mexico even today.

Mexico defeated Spain in 1821 and by 1829 had ended all slavery. Mexico's anti-slavery laws also applied to its northern territories that at the time included what are now the U.S. states of Texas, California, New Mexico, Nevada, Arizona and Utah. Unfortunately, the white settlers entering Texas from the southern United States wanted to continue the practice of slavery in opposition to Mexico's anti-slavery laws. In 1835, war erupted between Mexico and the white Texas settlers, in part over the issue of slavery.<sup>8</sup> Mexico lost and the short-lived Republic of Texas was born.

In 1845, the U.S. annexed the Republic of Texas as a slave-holding state and, a year later, provoked a war with Mexico based on its belief in manifest destiny and the racial inferiority of Mexicans. In commenting on the war between the U.S. and Mexico, Frederick Douglass, the foremost African American of his time, was disturbed by "the present disgraceful, cruel, and iniquitous war with our sister republic." He went on to say, "Mexico seems a doomed victim to Anglo Saxon cupidity and love of dominion."<sup>9</sup>

Life for Mexicans of African and Indian descent was difficult in the Republic of Texas following its war with Mexico. While white Mexicans were given full citizenship, Mexicans of African and Indian descent were given 10 days to prove that they were free or risk being sold into slavery or deported to Mexico. It is worth noting that the Mexican government gave land to those who returned to live within Mexico's new borders. The difficulties faced by Mexicans of African and Indian descent only grew following Mexico's loss to the U.S. In the treaty that followed the U.S.-Mexican war, the U.S. government promised the Mexican government that all Mexicans residing in New Mexico, California, Arizona and parts of Texas would retain full ownership of their property. None of these treaties were honored by either the U.S. or local state governments.<sup>10</sup>

The 1896 U.S. Supreme Court decision, *Plessey v. Ferguson*, that legalized segregation created a unique problem for Mexican Americans. Unlike African Americans, Mexican Americans could be both white and non-white and it was unclear how the law should be applied to them. The court gave states the right to determine who would be white and non-white under the law. California and Texas state law determined that for purposes of segregation, Mexican Americans were non-white (specifically Indian) and unable to attend school with whites.<sup>11</sup>

In 1947, Mexican Americans successfully brought suit through the California court system (*Mendez v. Westminster*) to gain access to equal education on the basis that they could not all be classified as non-white and that they had been promised full citizenship rights.<sup>12</sup> Stated differently, Mexican Americans gained equal access by successfully embracing their "white" Spanish heritage and minimizing their Indian heritage and hiding their African heritage. This case was used to win similar victories in other states. One can only speculate at how bittersweet this victory must have been for Mexican Americans to gain equal access by denying part of their cultural heritage. African Americans would not receive equal access under the law until the 1954 Supreme Court case of *Brown v. Board of Education*.

### Mexican and African Americans: Poor, Unhealthy and Undereducated

As has been described, both Mexican and African Americans have been subjected to capricious and racist government policies. They share a common cultural heritage from West African slaves. And, both communities have remarkably similar socio-economic profiles. Consider these statistics based on data from the 2000 U.S. Census Bureau.<sup>13</sup>

- **Population and "Race"** – The African American population is somewhat larger than the Mexican American population, 36.4 million compared to 20.6 million. When asked to identify their "race," 95 percent of African Americans identified themselves as African American alone and 5 percent identified themselves as being of "mixed race." By contrast, 47 percent of Mexican Americans identified themselves as being white alone, 46 percent identified themselves as some other race alone (probably under the belief that Latino/Hispanic

is a race), slightly over 1 percent identified themselves as Native American alone, less than 1 percent identified themselves as Black or African American alone, and, surprisingly, only 5 percent identified themselves as having heritage from two or more “races.”<sup>14</sup>

- **Age** – Mexican Americans are somewhat younger with a median age of 24 compared with a median age for African Americans of 30 years.
- **Education** – Both communities have educational challenges. Nearly 54 percent of Mexican Americans over the age of 25 years of age do not have a high school diploma compared to 28 percent of the African American community.
- **Employment** – Nearly identical percentages of both communities over the age of 16 are employed in the labor force, 60 percent of African Americans and 62 percent of Mexican Americans. Similar percentages of both groups can be found in various occupations. For example, African Americans are concentrated in sales (27 percent), management (25 percent) and service (22 percent). By comparison, Mexican Americans are concentrated in the areas of service (22 percent), sales (21 percent) and management (15 percent).
- **Income** – The median household income for African Americans is slightly lower than that of Mexican Americans, \$29,423 compared to \$33,621.
- **Housing** – Mexican Americans and African Americans have similar rates of rental housing, 52 percent compared to 54 percent, respectively.
- **Health** – Data from the Department of Health and Human Services and the Centers for Disease Control indicate that both Mexican and African Americans have significant health problems. Fifteen percent of African American children have been diagnosed with asthma compared with 11 percent of Mexican American children. (The rate for Puerto Rican American children exceeds 23 percent.) Mexican and African American adults have the same rate of diabetes, 10 percent, and similar rates of obesity, 25 percent and 28 percent, respectively. The infant mortality rate for African Americans is double that of Mexican Americans, 14 and 6 deaths, respectively, per 1,000 live births.<sup>15</sup>

- **Poverty** – Mexican and African American families share the same incidence of household poverty, 21 percent.

With so much in common with which to create common cause, what forces are keeping Mexican and African Americans apart? Unfortunately, America — its political parties, business sector and, at times, philanthropic and nonprofit institutions — have pitted different ethnic/cultural groups against each other to suit their own purposes. Often, the entry of a new group into the labor force is used to create fear of losing economic position and social status by the more established group. At the same time, the most recent ethnic group, by their willingness to work at lower wages under more difficult conditions, is used to undermine the economic position of the previous group.

This complicated political and economic cycle has been repeated over time. Irish, Italian, African and Mexican Americans have been sequentially pitted against the other for the lowest wage jobs in the economy, the consequence of which meant that the most recent group had to adopt racist attitudes towards African Americans to gain acceptance. For example, *In How the Irish Became White*, Noel Ignatiev documents that Irish immigrants gained acceptance as “whites” when, after realizing that the freed slaves would compete for their jobs, they adopted racist attitudes toward African Americans.<sup>16</sup>

In this context, President Fox’s and Mayor Nagin’s comments about jobs and economic competition are no surprise. They stem from the idea that the labor force is a zero-sum game and that any group’s success is dependent on the failure or loss of market share by another group. This is not a new story. As noted historian John Hope Franklin observed, groups of color have often been pitted against each other. He states:

“As one views these four groups of Americans [Irish, Italian, African and Mexican Americans] one is impressed with the bonds of disadvantage and even degradation that tie them together. In varying degrees they were victims of American racism, developed initially out of the American experience with persons of African descent but extended to others of darker hue — native Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Mexican-Americans — as they sought equal treatment at the hands of white Americans. Their struggle for full equality has been an ongoing one, and they would

have much to tell each other both about their limited successes and numerous failures. All too often, the several groups are in fierce competition with each other for jobs, housing, and other favors of society. Such competition leads to invidious comparisons, jealousy, and envy, making them easy prey to further victimization as those of racial and ethnic advantage use them as pawns in the game of pitting one wretched group jockeying for position against the others."<sup>17</sup>

Suggestions that the "Latino" population represents America's new minority and that it is now "their turn" suggests that the hard-won gains by African Americans are now to be supplanted by another the group. Statements such as these serve only to make these groups believe that their success depends on the other group's failure.

Despite significant political and economic success, African Americans do not feel that they have enjoyed widespread economic success and the success that they have achieved has been short-lived. Too often, in cities and settings where African Americans have established a modicum of power and control, they have followed the same model as those that preceded them in primarily attending to the needs and success of their community members without much interest in the needs of other communities or in power-sharing. It has not helped that the unique ties and interconnections that African, Mexican and Native Americans have to one another is not widely understood or celebrated.

Mexican Americans, on the other hand, view African Americans as having made it. Mexican Americans are still in the process of achieving their "firsts" and, in this regard, look at African Americans as the benchmark for determining their own success. Finally, one cannot ignore how Mexican Americans' ambivalence or outright rejection of their African heritage may influence their willingness to partner with African Americans.

Yet another example of this divide-and-conquer strategy was on display during the last two presidential elections as both political parties sought to woo the votes of Latino Americans and saw them as supplanting the political influence of African Americans. The broader label of Latino creates the false illusion of a homogeneous group where the actual reality is an extremely heterogeneous group.

In fact, it is very difficult to find disaggregated data on a specific Latino population.

This zero-sum game is also on display in the debate about whether and how to create both a path to citizenship for illegal immigrants and a guest worker program. Many observers have falsely suggested that Mexican immigrants would not make good citizens because they, unlike other immigrants, are less likely to assimilate. Other have argued that Mexican immigrants would depress wages for low-wage earners who are primarily African American; however, these same individuals have never shown any concern for the shameful economic status of either African or Mexican Americans.

### What Can Philanthropy Do?

There is much that foundations can do to improve the relationships between Mexican and African Americans. This is especially true to the extent that the cause of the tension is due to a zero-sum perspective of the world that the two groups are competing for jobs in shrinking economy. Both communities share contemporaneous problems of poverty, low income, poor healthcare, and inadequate education. Both communities share a past rooted in slavery, legalized segregation and discrimination against them, and both groups continue to experience ongoing, although declining, discrimination. Moreover, there may be opportunities to create partnerships across religious lines in which both communities have members who share the Christian faith. There is also a history of cultural interaction between these groups that is not well understood, appreciated or celebrated by either culture. Finally, America's future economic success in the global marketplace will depend heavily on the success of Mexican and African Americans due to their growing population. By creating a shared dialogue on all of these common issues, foundations can assist African and Mexican Americans in finding and acting on their mutual self-interest.

***Specifically, there are at least seven things that foundations can do.***

1. First and foremost, foundations and the nonprofit sector ***must end the practice of treating people of color, in this case Mexican and African Americans, as competitors for the same resources.*** In effect, some foundations have acted as if there is a total fixed amount that they will expend on communities

- of color and, in so doing, have created an unhealthy competition that make shared collaboration difficult. In addition, the even-handedness that some foundations feel they must apply in working with nonprofits representing people of color, i.e., by giving the same level of funding to show that they are not biased, is also problematic.
2. Foundations must adhere to a discipline in which they ***insist that the Latino/Hispanic category is not used as short-cut or substitute for describing a specific Latino group.*** Yes, collecting different data will be more difficult, time-consuming and expensive. However, each ethnic/cultural group has its own unique experience and story to tell, and it is only by looking at these separate ethnic/cultural groups can valid and useful comparisons be made and productive and long-lasting alliances be created. Foundations represent one of the few institutions that can implement this change by insisting that both their own publications and those of the nonprofit organizations they support use language and comparisons that clarify rather than continue to confuse the situation.
  3. People learn in different ways. In addition to statistical data collection, there is an enormous opportunity to ***tell the stories of both Mexican and African American communities separately and in comparison.*** These stories could be the subject of documentaries on public television and radio, newspaper and magazine stories, websites and associated chat rooms. By creating an understanding of both a shared history and contemporary experience, it is likely that Mexican and African Americans will view each other as partners rather than competitors. Imagine what might occur if young Mexican and African American children learned that Mexico engaged in a war against Texas to prevent the spread of slavery 32 years before the start of the American Civil War?
  4. In addition, through relatively modest grants, foundations could, quite easily, ***unleash the intellectual capacity of our colleges and universities to have their history, anthropology and sociology departments study these modern cross-cultural relationships.*** It would bring much-needed renewed vigor to these departments, new and more broadly disseminated information to the discussion and could help these departments further atone for their earlier legacy in leading the world to believe in the myth that there are racial categories that separate people and determine their inherent potential.
  5. Shared understanding is a pre-condition for developing meaningful relationships. Foundations can ***support convening of large public groups around specific topics of mutual self-interest between Mexican and African Americans.*** Equally important, foundations can convene leaders within these two communities to develop mutual trust and promote shared dialogue. While this certainly happens in some areas already, for example the civil rights legal community, it is far from standard practice.
  6. Foundations should look for ways to ***support the shared advocacy and direct services of African and Mexican American nonprofit organizations to work on common issues.*** To be successful, this strategy must be viewed as “in addition to” rather than “instead of” funding the work of the individual African and Mexican American nonprofit advocacy organization. The best collaborative efforts come about through the partnership of strong organizations and not weak ones.
  7. Lastly, and perhaps most important and difficult, foundation leaders ***must cease to be silent, agnostic observers when we see evidence of ethnic communities in conflict with each other.*** Unlike other institutions, the central reason for the existence of foundations is to help human kind. History is replete with examples of the emotional, economic, societal and even violent physical harm that can result when conflict between ethnic/cultural communities is left unchecked. Philanthropy is ideally positioned to use its cash and cache to bring communities together and to use its voice to speak out against political and business interests, as well as foundation and nonprofit colleagues that benefit by pitting communities against each other.
- It is not a matter of whether foundations can do these things but rather does our field have the courage and the will to overcome centuries of misinformation. It should not be underestimated how difficult these conversations may become. African Americans believe that their history of slavery gives them a unique experience and perspective. Mexican Americans have

largely repressed their African roots and celebrated their “white” and Indian heritage. Both groups largely believe that their own political and economic success depends on limiting the gains of the other. These are long-held beliefs and powerful emotions that will not be altered without investing considerable time and energy. However, the courage must be found to begin these discussions. Hopefully, this essay is a start.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> The relationship between African Americans and Latinos was the focus of a seminar held by Association of Black Foundation Executives (ABFE) and Hispanics in Philanthropy (HIP) at the 2002 annual meeting of Grantmakers for Children, Youth and Families. The proceedings are reported in: “The Relationship Between Blacks and Latinos in the United States: Challenges & Opportunities,” October 6, 2002.

<sup>2</sup> See: Leonard Liberman and Rodney C. Kirk, “What Should We Teach about the Concept of Race?” *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 35(1):137-145, 2004 and Audrey Smedley, “Race and the Construction of Human Identity,” *American Anthropologist* 100(3): 690-702, 1999.

<sup>3</sup> An excellent reference is Martha Menchaca, *Recovering History, Constructing Race: The Indian, Black and White Roots of Mexican Americans* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001).

<sup>4</sup> Menchaca, pp. 61-62.

<sup>5</sup> Menchaca, p. 53.

<sup>6</sup> Menchaca, pp. 61-62.

<sup>7</sup> Jo Tuckman, “Mexico’s Forgotten Race Steps into Spotlight,” *The Guardian*, Wednesday, July 6, 2005, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/international/story/>

<sup>8</sup> Menchaca, pp. 164-166 and John Hope Franklin, *Race and History: Selected Essays, 1938-1988* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), p. 342.

<sup>9</sup> Howard Zinn, *A People’s History of the United States*, (New York: Harper Perennial), p. 155.

<sup>10</sup> Menchaca, pp. 230-233.

<sup>11</sup> Menchaca, pp. 286-287.

<sup>12</sup> Menchaca, p. 291.

<sup>13</sup> The following statistical data are from: U.S. Census Bureau, American Factfinder, “Profile of General Demographic Characteristics: 2000, Black or African American Alone;” and U.S. Census Bureau, American Factfinder, “Profile of General Demographic Characteristics: 2000, Mexican.”

<sup>14</sup> It is interesting to note that while the U.S. Census

collects data on how different Latino groups designate themselves by race, it does not make that data readily accessible to the general public. The statistics cited were generated through an advanced query request to the Census Bureau.

<sup>15</sup> The source for this data is: Department of Health and Human Services and Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, “A Demographic and Health Snapshot of the U.S. Hispanic/Latino Population: 2002 National Health Leadership Summit.”

<sup>16</sup> Noel Ignatiev, *In How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

<sup>17</sup> Franklin, pp. 343-344.

## About the Author

**Dr. Emmett D. Carson**, president and CEO of The Minneapolis Foundation, is internationally recognized as a catalyst for progressive social change. A renowned speaker, he has published over 75 works on philanthropy and social justice. Prior to joining The Minneapolis Foundation, Dr. Carson was the first manager of the Ford Foundation’s worldwide grantmaking program on philanthropy and the nonprofit sector. He also has worked for the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies and the Congressional Research Service.

Dr. Carson serves on several nonprofit boards including the Council on Foundations (Board Chair), Blue Cross Blue Shield of Minnesota, Southern Education Foundation (Board Chair), and the University of Minnesota’s Humphrey Institute of Public Policy, among others. He is the recipient of several nonprofit leadership awards and has been recognized several times by *The Nonprofit Times* as one of the 50 most influential nonprofit leaders in the United States.

## About GCIR

**GCIR** is a national affinity group that seeks to move the philanthropic field to advance the contributions and address the needs of the world’s growing and increasingly diverse immigrant and refugee populations. In 2005, more than 1,500 grantmakers took advantage of our information resources and another 1,000 participated in our programs. For more information, visit [www.gcir.org](http://www.gcir.org) or contact the GCIR office at [info@gcir.org](mailto:info@gcir.org) or 707.824.4374.